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# THE ARS MORIENDI.





THE  
ARS MORIENDI

(EDITIO PRINCEPS, circa 1450).

*A Reproduction of the Copy in the  
BRITISH MUSEUM.*

EDITED BY

W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A.

**With an Introduction**

BY

GEORGE BULLEN, F.S.A., &c. &c.

*Keeper of the Printed Books in the British Museum.*



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## PREFACE.



**A**S Editor of this, the Fourteenth Volume in the series of the publications of the **HOLBEIN SOCIETY**, only a few words seem to be required of me. It must not be forgotten that the original work, of which the following plates form a fac-simile, is so rare that only one perfect copy appears to have come down to us. Hence, it must be a subject of congratulation to the Council and Members of the Society, that the **AUTHORITIES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM** have so freely permitted a fac-simile to be made of this rare and curious work—the possession of an original copy being, in all human probability, out of the question.

TO **MR. GEORGE BULLEN**, the Keeper of the Printed Books in the British Museum, the thanks of the Members of the **HOLBEIN SOCIETY** are due for the facilities which he has afforded to the fac-similist during his work, as well as for the Introduction,

obligingly undertaken by him at my request: this Introduction coming from one possessing so thorough a knowledge of the subject adds very materially to the interest and value of this Volume.

This being the first publication issued by the Society since the death of MR. ASPLAND, who for some years so satisfactorily performed the duties of Permanent Editor, a fitting opportunity is offered for placing on record the regret felt by the Council, and the loss suffered by the Society, in his unfortunate decease. MR. ASPLAND, who was one of its founders, had the good of the HOLBEIN SOCIETY thoroughly at heart, and spared no efforts to ensure its usefulness and success. Not unfrequently he purchased at his own cost valuable and expensive works solely for the purpose of their reproduction in the Society's Series,—a course, which it need hardly be said was as unusual as it was munificent.

In expressing the apologies of the Council for the unavoidable delay which has occurred in the production of the present Volume, I am requested to state that, in future, it is anticipated the publications of the Society will be more punctually issued.

W. HARRY RYLANDS.



## INTRODUCTION.



AMONG the treasures acquired by the British Museum at the Weigel Sale, at Leipsic, in 1872, by far the most important was the celebrated copy of the "*Ars Moriendi*," a block-book executed in the best style of art prevalent at the time of its production, perfect as to the number of its leaves, and in a marvellous state of preservation.

For this remarkable production the trustees paid the sum of £1,072. 10s., exclusive of commission, being the highest price ever paid by them for any single xylographic or printed work. It was purchased at the earnest recommendation of Mr. Rye, keeper of the printed books at the time, and soon after its acquisition was catalogued, under his direction, by Mr. Russell Martineau.

The following is a copy of the title written for it and inserted in the British Museum Catalogue :—

" Ars.

*Begin.* [fol. 1 *verso*.:]      Ars moriendi

Quamuis secundum philosophū

Tercio ethicorum, etc.

*End.* [fol. 24 *recto*.:] sepe miserabiliter piclitantūr.

G.L.

[Cologne ? 1450 ?] fol.

*Note.*—A block-book, consisting of 12 separate sheets of 2 leaves each, printed on the inner side only, so that the recto of fol. 1, 3, 5, etc., and the verso of fol. 2, 4, 6, etc., are left blank, and fol. 2 and 3, 4 and 5, etc., could be pasted together to form respectively a single leaf. The impression was taken in pale brown ink by rubbing. There are eleven illustrations, each occupying a whole page, on the verso of fol. 3, 5, 7, etc.; the explanatory letterpress being given on the recto of fol. 4, 6, 8, etc. Fol. 1 verso and 2 recto contain the introduction, in 30 and 29 lines respectively. Every leaf is surrounded by a border of 3 lines, of which the top and right sides are shaded on fol. 1-13, 15, 17, 19-23, the bottom and left on fol. 14, 16, 18, and the top and left on fol. 24. Without title-page or pagination. Fol. 13 verso has in the corner the sign V, which is the only signature occurring in the book. On fol. 14, 16, 18, 24 (text), the letter u is always written ũ. This edition is believed by Weigel and others to be the first edition of this often-repeated work, by reason of the beauty and originality of the designs, and the sharpness of outline, which proves the impression to be an early one."

It is a reproduction of this work, executed in *fac-simile* with the pen, by Mr. F. C. PRICE, and transferred to the stones, from which it has been printed, that is now offered to the members of the HOLBEIN SOCIETY. As a specimen of *fac-simile* art it is a perfect marvel, and shows at once the superiority of this kind of

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reproduction to the photographic process; as any one may see by comparing it with the photographic reproduction of the present work, published by Weigel himself in 1869.

Of the various block-books produced up to about the middle of the fifteenth century, it would be difficult to fix the exact chronological order, and equally so to determine in which country—Holland or Germany—they had their origin. It is to the former, perhaps, that the honour is due of having initiated the block-printing; while to the latter belongs the far higher invention of printing from movable metal types, discovered by Gutenberg and brought to perfection by Fust and Schoeffer at Mentz.

The block-books, there is no doubt, had their origin in those images of the saints produced early in the fifteenth century, probably in imitation of the playing-cards, which first came into vogue in Europe about the year 1350, introduced from the East. "The *positive* history of playing-cards," according to Dr. Willshire, "begins in the year 1392"; but at what time cards first came to be executed by means of wood-engraving is a problem which remains yet to be solved. According to some writers, the production of the images of saints by means of xylography preceded that of the playing-cards. The Buxheim St. Christopher of 1423, according to Dr. Willshire, is generally allowed to be authentic, and there is good ground for supposing that this was not the earliest production of the kind; whereas there are no cards of so early a date, nor nearly approaching it, extant. Still, as there must have been a large demand for cards before 1423, it is highly probable that they were produced before that year, at least, by wood-



engraving. Baron Heineken gives his opinion, "*Idée générale d'une collection complete des Estampes*," in favour of the playing-cards, while Mr. Chatto, in his latest-published work on the subject, corrects the opinion which he had previously given in 1836, and expresses his belief that "there were stencilled cards before there were wood engravings of saints."

The "*Biblia Pauperum*," a work intended for the instruction of the laity, by means of a series of illustrations of Bible history, accompanied by illustrative texts of Scripture, is generally supposed to have been the first of the block-books. It was in all likelihood produced in Holland, probably at Haarlem, between the years 1430-40. Of this there were several editions. The style of art appears to be decidedly of the Dutch School.

In the "*Canticum Canticorum*" there is a decided improvement both in beauty of design and execution. The designs clearly belong to the school of the Van Eycks.

The "*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*" also shows an improvement upon the "*Biblia Pauperum*," although some writers ascribe to it an earlier date.

Of the "*Ars Memorandi*," the "*Apocalypse*," and the other block-books, there is no occasion here to speak.

The "*Ars Moriendi*" is evidently a later production than any of those already mentioned. The manufacture of block-books, commenced in Holland and afterwards practised in Belgium, appears to have travelled, about the middle of the fifteenth century, into Germany, and fixed itself at Cologne, where this edition was in all probability executed. Herr Weigel's copy of

the work, here reproduced, was acquired by him, as he informs us, from a private person in that city. Naturally, he does not mention what he gave for it, which it would be interesting to know, in connection with the high price paid for it at his sale. Perhaps at some future time this secret will be revealed.

The "Ars Moriendi" was an exceedingly popular work, and passed through several editions, of which the present is presumably the first. Herr Weigel, whose judgment is deserving of the highest attention, from the close study he has given to the subject, pronounces in its favour as being the very first edition.

Others, however, are of opinion that an edition of the same work in quarto is of earlier date.

The letterpress of the "Ars Moriendi" differs entirely from that of a printed work, bearing a somewhat similar title—"Speculum Artis bene Moriendi," which never appeared as a block-book, and of which the first printed edition is supposed to have been issued about 1475.

In an edition of the "Speculum Artis bene Moriendi," printed about the year 1475-80, the author of the work is stated at the end to have been Matthæus de Cracovia—"Explicit liber utilis de arte moriendi Mægri Mathei de Cracovia"; but in a German translation of the same, published in 1520, it is ascribed to a highly learned doctor of Paris, in these words:—"Gemacht durch ein höchgelertẽ Doctor zû Paryss." This appears to refer to the celebrated Chancellor of the University of Paris, Jean Charlier de Gerson, reputed author of the "De Imitatione Christi," and undoubtedly author of the "Opusculum tripartitum," of which

the third part is entitled, "De Arte Moriendi." There is much in common between this block-book and the "Speculum Artis bene Moriendi." Some writers have supposed the block-book to be a compendium of the "Speculum"; but this lacks justification. It is true that the number of temptations of the dying man—namely, five—corresponds in both works, but there is as much reason for supposing the "Speculum" to be an amplification of the block-book, as for the opposite view that the block-book was a compendium of the "Speculum." Both works had, without doubt, a common origin, which may have been the work of Gerson above-mentioned; and Gerson is quoted in both, under his title of Chancellor of Paris, but only on a particular subject—namely, the spiritual danger of the dying man being led to hope for a recovery from his malady—the quotations from other authors, especially the fathers of the church, being numerous.

The words in the block-book are:—"Et ergo nullatenus infirmo detur spes nimia corporalis sanitatis consequendæ. Nam secundum Cancellarium Parisiensem, 'sæpe per talem falsam consolationem et fictam sanitatis confidentiam certam incurrit homo damnationem.'" These words occur in the preface to the block-book on the first page. In the "Speculum," however, they appear far on in the work, after the description of the five temptations, in a chapter headed "Sequitur quinta particula de exhortationibus circa infirmos in agone mortis." In this the passage introducing the Chancellor's words is fuller than in the block-books—namely, as follows:—"Nullatenus autem detur infirmo spes nimia corporalis sanitatis consequendæ; *cujus tamen contrarium tam frequenter fieri*

*solet a multis in periculum animarum circa justos qui actu agonizant ; ita quod nullus eorum aliquid audire vult de morte. Unde Cancellarius Parisiensis—'sæpe per unam talem inanem gloriam et falsam consolationem, et fictam sanitatis corporis confidentiam certam incurrit homo damnationem.'*"

Referring to the "Opusculum tripartitum" itself, an early-printed edition, we find the words given exactly as follows :—"Sæpe namque per unam talem inanem et falsam consolationem et incertam sanitatis corporeæ confidentiam certam incurrit homo damnationem." Here it is perceived that in the "Speculum" the monkish redundancy of *unam* (that sort of false Latinity so ridiculed in the "Epistolæ obscurorum virorum") is preserved and the word *gloriam* is introduced ; while *fictam* is substituted for *incertam*, and *corporis* for *corporeæ*. Hence, it is probable that the author of the block-book had a MS. before him of the "Opusculum tripartitum," which slightly differed from that used by the author of the "Speculum." Hence also, it may be inferred that the author of the block-book was a different person from the author of the "Speculum," since, if it were one and the same person, the words of the MS. quoted from would have been exactly the same. Altogether, considering the simplicity of the block-book letterpress, it would appear to be earlier than the amplified treatise of the "Speculum 'de arte bene Moriendi.'"

Referring to any MSS. that there might be in the British Museum, bearing on the subject of the block-books, we find that although there are some of the "Biblia Pauperum" and of the "Speculum humanæ Salvationis," there appear to be none of the "Ars Moriendi," except a version in some Catalan dialect (3183

Harl.), with miniatures of some of the temptations, unfortunately much defaced. In this also the Chancellor of Paris is quoted.

The pictorial illustrations of the "*Ars Moriendi*" are of the lower Rhenish school of art, practised at Cologne up to about the second quarter of the fifteenth century, when, according to Weigel and Zestermann ("*Die Anfänge der Buchdruckerkunst in Bild und Schrift*"), the native German art is shown to have been much influenced by the school of Roger Van der Weyde. They mention also a certain Petrus Christus as having been resident at Cologne about 1438, to whom, without absolutely saying as much, they seem to hint that the execution of the "*Ars Moriendi*" may be due. Mr. Weale, however, an authority of the highest order, who has studied Flemish art and antiquities perhaps more extensively than any one, has shown, in an article in "*Le Beffroi*," an antiquarian journal published in Bruges, that this Petrus Christus, who was a pupil of the Van Eycks, continued to reside at Bruges, and that there is no evidence of his ever having resided at Cologne.

The illustrations in the "*Ars Moriendi*," eleven in number, embrace the following subjects :—

In the first the dying man is represented on his bed, naked ; except that the bed-clothes from his breast downwards cover him. (It appears, from various sources, that it was not the custom at the time generally to wear bed-dresses.) He is emaciated in appearance, and his thin right arm is extended over the coverlet. In all the engravings, except the last, this figure on the bed occupies the right hand of the picture. Above this, reckoning from the left

to the right, are three figures, namely, of the Virgin Mother, of Jesus Christ, and of the Almighty Father. Next to the Virgin, on the left, are two pictures of demons, between which is a scroll with the words "Infernus factus est." These, perhaps, should more properly be "*Infirmus* factus est," which is the reading given in the French translation occurring in "L'Art de bien Viure et de bien Mourir," to be hereafter mentioned. Weigel and Zestermann suggest "fractus" for "factus," which would make no sense whatever. Below this scroll are figures of three doctors, one apparently "with good capon lined" and forming a remarkable contrast to the dying man, discussing the state of the case; next to these on the right, and nearer to the dying man, is a demon bearing a scroll with the inscription "Fac sicut Pagani." This advice is illustrated by a king and a queen on the left hand side adoring an image on a pedestal. On the extreme right is another demon, touching the dying man's shoulder with his right-hand, while in his left he bears a scroll with the inscription "Interficias te ip̃m" (kill thyself). Below this there are two figures, the one on the left being that of a female, naked except round the loins, holding in her right hand a bunch of rods and in her left a scourge; the one on the left being that of a man represented in the act of cutting his own throat with a knife.

With all this variety of figures the composition of the subject is harmonious and impressive; the figures of the demons are at once grotesque and hideous; while that of the kneeling queen on the left, adoring the Pagan image and in flowing drapery, is exceedingly graceful. The picture of the dying man, thus exposed to the assaults of his ghostly enemies, is well calculated to call forth the sympathy

even of a generation like ours: how much more so, when contemplated by men and women who actually believed, as taught by their spiritual advisers, in the personality of Satan and the malignant demons that worked under his direction? This first temptation of the dying man, in which he is assailed on the matter of "Faith," is followed by an explanatory page of text headed by the words "Tentacio dyaboli de fide."

It is followed by picture 2, in which the dying man's good angel comes to his rescue. He stands in front of him with wings outspread, a full-length figure in graceful drapery, and bearing a scroll with the words "Sis firmus ifide (in fide)." Above, ranging from the left to the right, are figures of the Virgin, Jesus, God the Father, and Moses with horns. The last mentioned is foolishly supposed by Sotheby to represent Judas Iscariot. Still farther above these is a troop of saints and angels. Below are three figures of discomfited demons; one exclaiming "Fugiamus;" another "Victi sumus;" and a third "Frustra laboravim<sup>9</sup>." This is followed by a page of text, headed "Bona inspiracio angeli de fide." The figure of the dying man, under this encouragement, is represented in a somewhat more cheerful aspect.

In his second temptation, that of "Despair," he is again assaulted by demons. There are six of them, all hideous. One bearing a scroll, "Ecce pcta (peccata) tua," holds up a list of his many sins to his view; another tells him that he is a perjurer, "Perjurus es;" a third that he has been a fornicator, "Fornicatus es;" a fourth that he has been avaricious, "Avare vixisti;" and a fifth that he has been a man-slayer, "Occidisti." What can the poor man do? He has done

all this, and perhaps more, and his countenance falls accordingly. At the top of the picture are two figures, one of a man, towards whom he has been guilty of perjury, and the other of a woman, with whom he has sinned in fornication. The devils point to them both. At the foot are representations of a man whom he has killed, and of another whom he has ruined by his avarice. These are both pointed at by the accusing spirits; the one who accuses him of murder holding a drawn dagger upright in his left hand. In the left of the picture is a devil holding a full-weighted purse in his right hand, and with a shirt hanging from his right arm, while with his left hand he points to the figure of a naked man sitting below him on the ground. Here the demon exhibits no scroll, but the naked figure on the ground may well be supposed to represent another victim of the dying man's avarice. The page of explanatory text which follows has for its heading the words, "*Temptaco dyaboli de despacione.*"

In the fourth engraving, followed by a page of letterpress, headed "*Bona ispiratio angli contra despationẽ,*" the dying man's guardian angel is again seen by the side of his bed, exhibiting a scroll bearing the words "*Nequaquã desperes.*" In the upper part of the picture are represented three figures; namely, on the left that of the penitent thief on the cross; next to him that of St. Mary Magdalen, holding in her hand the pot of spikenard; and next to her that of St. Peter, holding in his right hand a large key and accompanied by the cock that crew when he denied his Saviour, the latter being perched on the canopy of the bedstead. At the foot of this, on the left-hand side of the picture, is a representation of Saul of Tarsus and his horse, both cast to the ground while journeying to Damascus. These, being all examples of



eminent sinners who had their sins forgiven them, are exhibited to the dying man with a view to rouse him from a state of despair, and indulge in a hope of like forgiveness, whatever may have been his sins. The successful result of the guardian angel's exhortation is shown in the hasty flight of a hideous demon in the right-hand corner, at the foot of the picture, bearing a scroll with the words "Victoria michi nulla;" while another demon just above him, but shown only by his hinder parts, makes his escape under the bedstead.

Still the evil spirits will not allow the dying man to depart in peace. They assail him with a third temptation, namely, that of impatience under his sufferings.

In the fifth engraving he is represented with both arms exposed, and with his right leg kicking a male figure, presumably his medical attendant, who seems to be astonished at and to resent such strange behaviour. Another figure, however, just above, probably that of the dying man's wife, compassionately extends her hand towards the patient, and excuses him in the words of the scroll, "Ecce q̃tam (quantam) penã patit̃r" (See what suffering he endures!) In front of the bedstead, and towards the left of the engraving, is a full-length figure of a female, handsomely dressed, probably the dying man's daughter, holding in her right hand a plate containing the leg of a goose or a fowl, or some such thing, and in her left a cup. At the extreme right, about the middle of the picture, is seen the head of a demon with a lolling tongue, and a scroll issuing from his mouth, bearing the words "q̃z bene decepi eum." Below this, on the right, is shown a table, from which various articles have fallen on the ground; namely, a knife, a cup, a spoon, and two other undistinguishable

articles. The letterpress accompanying this engraving is headed "Temptacio dyaboli de ĭpaciĕcia."

Again, however, the dying man's angel comes to his rescue, and we see him standing with wings outspread, about the centre of the picture (No. 6), administering spiritual consolation to his charge; the accompanying page of letterpress being headed with the words "Bona inspiracio angeli de paciencia." The dying man is represented with his hands folded as in prayer. Above him, on the right, are figures of the Eternal Father and of Jesus Christ; and on the left of St. Barbara, with a tower surmounted by a steeple; of St. Catherine, with the wheel and sword; and of St. Laurence, with the gridiron; the last-mentioned being elevated above the two female saints. Below these, on the left-hand side of the picture, is a full-length figure of St. Stephen, exhibiting the stones with which he had been martyred. On the right is shown a demon tumbling headlong, with the scroll "labores amisi," while on the left are shown the hinderparts of another escaping under the bedstead, with the scroll, "Sum captivatus."

The fourth temptation of the dying man (engraving No. 7) is on the score of "vainglory," which forms a most horrible picture. He is assailed by five hideous demons, one of whom, with a crown in his hand, exhorts him to boast—"Gloriare"; another says, "Tu es firmus in fide;" another also bears a crown with the scroll, "Coronă meruisti;" while a third, on the right hand, appears to thrust a crown into the dying man's left hand, accompanying it with the words, "In paciencia perseverasti." The fifth demon bears for his scroll the words, "Exaltate ipsum." Above all these are figures of the Eternal Father, of Jesus, and the Blessed Virgin; and a little below these are three

figures of innocent children in the attitude of prayer. This picture is followed by a letterpress description headed "*Temptacio dyaboli de vana gloria.*"

In the eighth engraving there are three 'angels who come to administer advice and consolation to the dying man. The principal one, occupying the centre of the picture, points with his right hand to a scroll on the right bearing the words "*Superbos punio;*" beneath which is a representation of the mouth of hell, signified by flames, in which three figures are writhing in torture; one of them being a priest. Immediately above the principal angel is another, bearing in his left hand a scroll with the words "*Sis humilis,*" to which he points with his right. The third angel is a full-length figure on the left, holding up his right hand as if in exhortation. Above this is a figure of St. Anthony, bearing in his left hand a bell, and in his right a crozier. At the top of the picture is a representation of the Holy Trinity, accompanied by the Blessed Virgin, the Holy Ghost being symbolized under the form of a dove, with outspread wings. The hideous head of a demon on the right, just below the bedstead, is probably intended for Satan himself, or perhaps only the conventional representation of the "mouth of hell," showing two huge teeth, almost closing round the neck of one of his victims, namely, one of the three figures, before-mentioned as plunged into hell flames, from their having indulged in the deadly sin of pride. At the foot of the picture is the figure of a demon lying prostrate, and bearing the scroll "*Victus sum;*" the hinder-parts of another being shown, as previously, in the act of escaping under the bedstead. This engraving is followed by a page of letterpress, headed with the words, "*Bona inspiracio anglī contra vanā gloriā.*"

In the fifth temptation (engraving No. 9), the dying man is exhibited as assailed by the sin of avarice. Three demons occupy themselves with this office. One, standing at the top of his bed, slightly on the right, points significantly to a group on his left, showing a male figure and three females, the last on the left having the figure of a child just below her; these being evidently relations or friends of the dying man, as shown by the scroll, bearing the words "*Provideas amicis.*" Below this group is a devil pointing towards them with the same end in view. At the right hand of the picture is a demon from whom issues a scroll, bearing the words, "*Intende thesauro,*" and pointing towards a house, in the lower compartment of which is a cellar containing four casks of wine, with a servant filling a jug from one of them. This is evidently intended by the demon to distract the dying man's mind from all thought of heaven, to a consideration of the worldly enjoyment that he is called to leave behind him. The same idea is carried out by the two figures down below, one of a steed, and the other of his attendant groom. The page of letterpress accompanying this is headed by the words, "*Temptacio dyaboli de avaricia.*"

Following this is an engraving (No. 10) of the good angel who comes to support and console the dying man, while thus tempted to endanger his salvation through indulging in the sin of avarice; the accompanying letterpress being headed, "*Bona inspiracio angli contra auariciã.*" In this engraving the guardian angel stands, as before, in front of the dying man, with his right hand raised in exhortation, and with a scroll on the right of the picture bearing the words, "*Non sis*

auarus." Above the canopy of the bedstead, on the right, is a representation of the Blessed Virgin, and next to this, on the left, is a full-length figure of the Holy Jesus stretched on the cross. Next to this, on the left, somewhat lower down, are three figures of sheep, shown principally by their heads. Next to these, on the left, are three figures, namely, of a man and two women; just below the second woman is the figure of a maiden, and above her, on the extreme left, is the head of a man. What this group of figures is intended to symbolize it would be difficult to conjecture. The man, standing as he does, next to the sheep, and with a staff in his hand, is perhaps a representation of a good shepherd. They all of them, however, appear to look towards the dying man with feelings of compassion. Below this group is the figure of an angel, with a scroll bearing the words, "*Ne intendas amicis*" (Do not concern thyself for thy friends). This angel holds with both hands an outspread curtain, intended to conceal from the dying man's view two full-length figures, one of a woman on the right, and the other of a man on the left; both possibly being disappointed expectants of sharing in the dying man's wealth; or else the female figure representing his wife and the male figure that of his physician. The latter appears to be exhorting his female companion to depart from the scene. At the foot of the picture, on the right, is the figure of an ugly demon with a scroll bearing the words "*Quid faciam.*"

The final picture in the series (No. 11), represents the dying man in his last agony. In this engraving his position is different from that in the other engravings, being on the left hand of the picture instead of on the right, where he is

shown lying on his bed. In his right hand is a lighted candle, which a Monk, standing on his right, supports with his left hand, using the right for exhortation. The dying man has now drawn his last breath, and with it the soul, in the shape of a child, has escaped from the body and is received by an angel, the foremost of a group of four, shown high up in the picture on the left-hand side. To the right of this group, and just above the Monk, are three figures—namely, of St. Peter, with the sword; of Mary Magdalene, with the cup of spikenard; and of the Blessed Virgin. Behind these are the nimbi of eight other saints, with the heads of two of them slightly depicted. To the right of this group is a full-length figure of the Saviour extended on the cross. On the right of this is a figure of St. John, almost full length, with his hands closed in the attitude of prayer; while above him are shown the heads of two other male figures, probably apostles, each with a nimbus, with the nimbi alone of two others just above. In the lower part of the picture are the figures of six hideous demons, raging with disappointment at not gaining possession of the dying man's soul by the cunningly-devised temptations above represented.

In the last page of letterpress directions are given as to the prayers which the dying man should utter while awaiting the stroke of death. First, he is exhorted to implore Almighty God, of His ineffable mercy and by the virtue of His passion, to receive him to Himself. Next, he is directed to implore the mediation of the glorious Virgin Mary. Next, to invoke the aid of all the angels, especially his guardian angel; and then of the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins; addressing himself

chiefly to any among them whom he had formerly held in particular veneration. Particular prayers and sentences are then mentioned which the dying man is exhorted to repeat. If he cannot do this himself, then the bystanders are exhorted to do it for him. And here a recommendation is given that everyone, when expecting the approach of death, should secure the presence of some faithful friend to assist him in his last hours by his prayers and exhortations. "But, alas!" says the writer, "how few are there, who, in the hour of death, faithfully assist their neighbours with interrogations, admonitions, and prayers! Hence, it happens that as the dying persons themselves do not (in general) wish to die quite yet, their salvation is often miserably imperilled." The original Latin is as follows:—"Sed heu, pauci sunt qui in morte proximis suis fideliter assistunt, interrogando, monendo, et pro ipsis orando: præsertim cum ipsi morientes nondum mori velin, et animæ morientum sæpe miserabiliter periclitantur." With these words the "*Ars Moriendi*" concludes.

Similar advice is given as to the presence of a faithful friend, and the same complaint is made, slightly amplified, in the "*Speculum Artis bene Moriendi*"; not at the end, however, but about the middle of the work.

The same is the case in a work published by our own Caxton, in 1490, with the title, "Here begynneth a lytill treatise shorte and abredged spekyng of the arte and craft to know well to dye." The five temptations are here briefly enumerated, and the advice given occurs on the last leaf, in the words:—"To this myght

moche well serve a felawe and trewe frende devoute and convenable whiche in his laste ende assyste hym truly," etc. This appears to be an abridgment of the "Speculum." In the colophon it is stated to have been "translated oute of frenshe in to englysshe by Willm Caxton."

In another little treatise, likewise printed by Caxton, but without name, place, or date, under the title, "Here begynneth a lytyll treatise schortely compyled and called ars moriendi, that is to saye the craft for to deye for the healthe of mannes sowle," the same advice is given at the very commencement of the work. The words (in the dear old black letter and quaint spelling) are as follows:—"Whan ony of lyklyhode shal deye, thenne is most necessarye to haue a specyall frende, the whiche wyll hertly helpe and praye for hym and therwyth counseyll the syke for the wele of his sowle, and more ouer to see that alle other so do aboute hym, or elles quickly for to make hem departe. Thenne is to be remembred the grete benefeytes of god done for hym unto that tyme and specyally of y<sup>e</sup> passyon of our lorde, and thenne is to be rede somme story of sayntes or the vii psalmes wyth y<sup>e</sup> letanye or our lady psalter in parte 'or hole wyth other. And euer the ymage of the crucifyxe is to be hadde in his syght wyth other. And holy water is oftymes to be cast upon and about hym for auoydyng of euyll spirytes y<sup>e</sup> whiche thene be full redy to take theyr auauntage of the sowle yf they may," etc.

It should be noticed that while the busy work of the evil spirits is thus alluded to, there is no mention made of the five particular temptations of the block-book and the "Speculum."



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This unique tract of Caxton was found in the middle of a volume of black-letter tracts in the Bodleian Library, and was reprinted by Mr. Blades in 1869. He conjectures that it was printed in 1491, the very year in which Caxton died, and that it was translated from the Latin by the printer himself; "but no other copy," he says, "in any language, in print or manuscript, appears to be known."

In a treatise entitled "*Tractatus brevis ac valde utilis de arte et scientia bene moriendi*," printed at Venice in 1478, the five temptations are enumerated, as in the "*Speculum*," of which this appears to be a compendium.

The five temptations are also mentioned in a treatise entitled, "*Tractatus brevis et utilis pro infirmis visitandis et confessionem eorum audiendis*," printed at Passau, by J. Alakraw and B. Mair, in 1482, in the same order as in the block-book and the "*Speculum*."

Thus it appears, from the various publications mentioned, and others which might be named, that the intent and ascetic contemplation of death was a favourite subject with writers of the fifteenth century and earlier. When the revival of learning commenced, and the masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature came to be studied, death was not regarded by reasonable persons with the same morbid feelings that prevailed during the Middle Ages.

Confirmation is given of the numerous treatises on the subject of death extant during the fifteenth century, in a French work entitled "*Le Liure intitule lart de bien viure; et de bien mourir*"

et cet.," published at Paris by Verard, in 1493, and of which a second edition by the same printer appeared in 1496. Of this second edition there is a magnificent copy on vellum in the British Museum, formerly belonging to King Henry VII., from whose library it passed with the other books in the royal collection given to the nation by George II., in 1759.

In this treatise the writer expressly informs us that there had been several works published previously on the contemplation and preparation of death, and he then proceeds to specify particularly the block-book, which is the subject of the present investigation. From the terms in which he speaks it is clear that he was not aware who was the author of the work. His words (quoting from the second edition) are:—"Ont compille plusieurs traitez de contemplacion iouxte les consideracions de la mort. Et specialement ung duquel ie ignore le nom, mais ay trouue son liure intitule, "*Ars Moriendy*," commencent: *Quamuis secundũ philozophum terciõ ethicorum &c. Omnium terribilium & cetera.*" Then follows a complete translation into French of the letterpress of the block-book, accompanied by copies of all the wood engravings, illuminated and coloured in this particular copy in the best art of the time.

Verard also printed, at Paris, an uncouth translation of this work into English (the vilest spelling that can be imagined), in 1503, under the title of "*Traytte of god lyuyng and good deying et of paynys of hel et the paynys of purgatoyr*," etc. It has the same wood-cuts as the two French editions. There is a copy in the library of Emanuel College, Cambridge; and

another (unfortunately imperfect) in the British Museum, presented to that Institution by Mr. Maskell, in 1852. Wynkyn de Worde also printed an English translation of the same work in 1505.

Enough perhaps has now been said to justify the Council of the HOLBEIN SOCIETY in adding this reproduction of one of the most remarkable of the block-books to the Society's publications.

GEORGE BULLEN.

LONDON, *July*, 1881.



### Ars moriendi

**O**mnis secundum philosophum Tercio ethicorum  
omniū terribilū mors corporis sit terribilissima  
mori tamen anime nullatenus est comparanda  
Iste augustinus qui ait paupus est dampnum in amissio-  
ne viuis anime q̄ nulle corporū teste etiam Bernardo qui  
dicit Totus iste mundus ad viuis anime precū estimari  
non potest. Paupus ergo anime tanto est horribilior atq;  
detestabilior q̄to anima corpore est nobilior atq; preciosior  
Iam ergo anima tante p̄ciolitat̄ existat et dyabolus  
pro morte ipsius eterna hominē in extrema infirmitate  
maximis temptationibus infestet. Ideo sume necessari-  
um est ut homo anime sue provideat ne morte illa p̄da-  
tur. Ad qd maxime expediens est ut quilibet artem  
bene moriendi de qua est p̄ns intencio frequenter per oū-  
lis habeat atq; extremā infirmitatē mente sua reuoluat  
quia ut ait Gregorius. Valde se sollicitat in bono ope  
qui semp cogitat de extremo sine Nam si futurū malum  
preconferetur. facilius tollerari potest. Iuxta illud.  
Futura si p̄sciantur leuius tollerantur. Sed rarissime  
abquis se ad mortem disposuit tempellime eo q̄ quilibet  
diuinus se victurū existimet neq̄ credens se tam cito mo-  
riturū. qd nulli nctu dyabol fieri certū est. Nam phures p̄  
talem ianem spem sepos neglexerunt. indispofiti morientes  
Et ergo nullatenus infirmo detur spes inima corporis sanita-  
tis consequende Nam secundū cancellariū parisiensiu sepe p̄  
talem falsam consolationē et fictam sanitatis confidentiam  
certam inuitit homo damnationē. Ante omnia ergo induca-  
tur moriturus ad ea que necessario ad salutem requiruntur.  
Primo ut credat sicut bonus xpianus credere debet letus  
quoq; q̄ in fide xpi et ecclesie morietur vnitatē et obedientia.

Secundo ut recognoſcat ſe deū grauiter offenditſe et  
inde doleat. Tercio ut pponat ſe veraciter emendare ſi ſup-  
vixerit et nūq̃ amplius peccare. Quarto ut indulgeat  
ſuis offenſoribus ppter dāni et remitti petat ab hys quos  
ipſe offendit. Quinto ut ablata reſtituat. Sexto ut cognoſ-  
cat pro ſe mortuū eſſe xp̃m et q̃ aliter ſaluari non poſſe  
nisi p meritū paſſionis xp̃i de quo agat deo grācias inq̃tū  
valēt. Ad que ſi bono corde reſponderit ſignū eſt q̃ ſit de mi-  
mero ſaluandoz. Deinde ſtudioſe induitur ad debitū vſum  
ſacramentozū ecclēſie. Primo ut p veram contricionem in-  
tegram faciat confeſſionē. alia etiā ecclēſie ſacramēta deuote  
recipiendo. Quilibet vero de p̃miſſis ab alio interrogatus  
i informatus nō ſit ſēpm̃ interroget conſiderando ſi ſit  
diſpoſitus ut preſertur. Qui autem ſic diſpoſitus eſt ſe  
totū paſſionē xp̃i cōmittat. continue eam retribuendo  
atq̃ meditando. nam per hoc omnes temptationes  
dyaboli et in fide maxime ſuperantur. Vnde notan-  
dum q̃ morturi grauiorē habent temptationes  
q̃ vniquam prius habuerunt. Et ſunt quinq̃ ut poſ-  
tea patebit. Contra quas angelus ſuggerit eis quin-  
q̃ bonas inſpirationes. Sed ut omnibus iſta materia  
ſit fructuoſa et nullis ab ipſius ſpeculatione ſecuden-  
tur ſed inde moxi ſalubriter diſcat tam lictis tantum  
l̃rato deſeruentibus q̃ p̃maginibus laico et l̃terato  
ſimul deſeruentibus cunctozū oculis obicitur. Quic-  
duo ſe mutuo correſpondentes habent ſe tamq̃ ſpeculum  
in quo preterita et futura tamq̃ preſentia ſpeculantur.  
Qui ergo bene moxi velit iſta cum ſequentibus diligen-  
ter conſideret.











### **Tentacio dyaboli de fide**

**S**ex quo fides est totius salutis fundamentum et sine ea nulli omnino potest esse salus teste Augustino qui ait fides est bonorum omnium fundamentum et humane salutis incunabulum. Et bernardo dicente fides est humane salutis incunabulum sine hac nemo ad filiorum dei numerum potest pertinere sine hac omnis labor hominis est vacuus. Ideo dyabolus totius humane generis inimicus totis viribus hominem in extrema infirmitate ab illa totaliter auertere nititur vel saltem ad deuiandum in ea ipsum inducere laborat dicens. tu miser in magno stas errore. non est sicut credis vel sicut predicatur Infernus fractus est. quicquid homo agat licet aliquem vel ipsum occidat tum indiscreta punita sicut aliqui fecerunt vel ydola adorant ut reges paganorum et plures pagani faciunt nomine in finem idem est quia nullus reuertitur dicens tibi veritatem et sic fides tua nichil est. Ihs et similibus dyabolus maxime laborat ut hominem in extremis agentem a fide auertat quia bene scit Si fundamentum ruat. omnia superedificata necessario ruerunt.

Secundum tamen quod dyabolus in nulla temptatione hominem cogere potest nec etiam aliquo modo preualere ut sibi consentiat quod diu vltimum rationis habuerit. nisi sponte voluerit consentire. quod certe super omnia cauendum est. Vnde apostolus. fidelis deus qui non patietur vos temptari super id quod potestis sed faciet cum temptatione prouentum ut possit sustinere.









### Bona inspiratio angeli de fide

**C**ontra primam temptationem dyaboli dat angelus bona inspirationem dicens. O homo ne credas pestiferis suggestionibus dyaboli cum ipse sit incudax. Nam menciendo prothoparantes decepti nec aliquo modo infide dubites licet sensu vel intellectu comprehendere non valeas quia si comprehendere posses nullatenus esset meritoria iuxta illud gregory. Fides non habet meritum cum humano ratio prebet expulsum. Sed memento verba sanctorum patrum scilicet sancti pauli ad hebreos xl. dicentis. Sine fide impossibile est placere deo. Et iohannis tercio. Qui non credit iam iudicatus est. Et bernardi dicentis. Fides est primogenita inter virtutes. Et iterum. Beatior fuit maria percipiendo fidem xpi quam carciem xpi. Considera etiam fidem antiquorum fidelium. Abrahami ysaac et iacob et quorundam gentilium scilicet iob raab meretricis et similibus similiter fidem apostolorum nec non inimitabilem martirum confessorum atque virginum. Nam per fidem omnes antiqui et moderni placuerunt. Per fidem sanctus petrus super aquas ambulavit. Sanctus iohannes venenum sibi propinatum sine uocamento bibit. Montes aspii orante alexandro per fidem adiuuati sunt. Et ideo fides adeo merito benedicta. Propterea viriliter debes resistere dyabolo et firmiter credere omnia mandata ecclesie. quia sancta ecclesia errare non potest cum a spiritu sancto regatur...

**N**ota quicquid infirmus sentit se temptari contra fidem cogitet primo quia necessaria est fides quia sine ea nullus saluari potest. Secundo cogitet quod utilis est quia potest omnia dicente domino. Omnia possibilia sunt credenti. Et iterum. Quod clarescentes petieritis credite quia accipietis. Et sic infirmus facilius dei gratia dyabolo resistet. Quare etiam bonum est ut symbolum fidei nostra agonizantium alta voce dicatur pluries et repetatur ut per hoc infirmus ad fidei constantiam augetur et demones qui illud audire abhorrent abigantur.









**S**ecundo dyabolus temptat hominem infirmum p despacio-  
nem que est contra spem atqz confidentiam quam homo  
debet habere in deum. Cum enim infirmus doloribus cruciatur i  
corpore tunc dyabolus dolorem dolori supaddit obiciendo sibi pcca  
sua presertim non confessa ut eum in despacione inducat dicens.  
Miser vide pcca tua que tanta sunt ut unqz veniam acquirere  
possis ita ut dicere possis cum caym. Maior est mea iniquitas  
qz ut veniam merear. Ecce quomodo dei precepta transgressus  
es. nam deum super omnia non dilexisti hominibus iniuriam  
intulisti. et tamen bene scis qz nullus potest saluari nisi seruaue-  
rit mandata dei quia dñs dicit. Si vis ad vitam ingredi serua  
mandata. sed superbe auare luxuriose gulose iracunde inuide  
accidiose vixisti attamen predicari audisti qz ppter vñ peccatum  
mortale homo potest dampnari. Iul super septem opa miseri-  
cordie non implesti. que tamen dominus precipue inquit  
in extremo die ut ipsemet testatur. dicens hys qui a sinistris  
sunt. Ite in ignem eternum. Nam diuini et non dedisti in ma-  
dum et non dedisti michi potum etc. Et ideo iacobus  
dicit. Iudiciu sine misericordia erit illi qui sine misericordia  
fuit super terram. Vides etiam qz plure nocte et die in lege  
dei vigilantissime laborantes qui tamen nullatenus de sa-  
lute sua presumere audent quia nullus scit an odio vel amo-  
re dignus est et ergo nulla spes salutis tibi relinquitur  
Per ista et similia inducat hominem in despacionem que super  
omnia mala est vitanda cum misericordiam dei offeudat que  
sola nos saluat teste propheta. Misericordie domini quia non  
consumpti sumus. Et augustinus dicit. Quisquisqz positus  
in peccato si de venia vera despauerit misericordiam funditus  
perdit nichil enim sic deum offeudit qz despacio









Bona inspiratio angli contra desperationē

**C**ontra scđam tēptationē dyaboli dat angls bonā inspirationē  
dicens o homo quare desparas licet eū tot latrocinia furta et  
homicidia perpetrasses quot sunt maris gutte et arene. etiā si sol  
totius mundi pōra quivisses. sciam si de eisdem unq̃ prius pe  
nitentiā egisses. nec ea confessus fuisses. nec etiam modo ad con  
fitendū ea facultatē haberēs nichilominus despare nō debes.  
quia ī tali casu sufficit sola contritio interior. Nescis p̃s. Sor contri  
tū et humiliatū deus nō despiciet. Et ezechiel ait. Quacūq̃ ho  
ra pccor īgenuerit. saluus erit. Unde Bernardus ait. Maior  
est dei pietas q̃ quis īiquitas. Et augustinus. Plus potest  
deus misereri q̃ homo peccare. In casu etiā quo tibi constaret  
q̃ de numero dampnātorū esses neq̃quā adhuc despare debes  
eo q̃ p desperationē nichil aliud agitur nisi q̃ p eam p̃ssimus  
deus multo magis offenditur et alia pccā fortius aggravant.  
pccā quoq̃ eterna usq̃ īnitū augmētatur. Xp̃s etiā pro  
pccoribus crucifixus ē et nō pro vltis ut ip̃met testatur di  
cens. Nō veni vocare iustos sed pccōres. Exemplū hēas ī petro  
xp̃m negāte. paulo ecclīaz p̃sq̃te. matheo et zacheo publicanis.  
maria magdalena peccasse ī muliere dephēta ī adultio. Iuliane  
iuxta xp̃m ī cruce pendente. maria egyptiaca nē  
Nō q̃ cito infirmus sentit se tēptari p desperationē cogitet q̃  
ip̃a est peior et dampnabilior oībus pccis. et q̃ nūquam debet  
admitti ppter quēliq̃ etiam pccā. Nam ut dicit augustinus.  
Plus peccant iudas desparando q̃ iudei crucifigendo xp̃m.  
Scđo cogitet q̃ utilis et necessaria ē spes. quia scđm celostitutū  
est salutis nr̃e anchora vite nr̃e fundamentū. dux itineris quo  
itur ad celū. Et ideo nūquā ē relinquēda ppter etiā quēliq̃ pccā









### Temptatio dyaboli de impaciencia

**T**ercio dyabolus temptat hominem infirmum per impacienciam que oritur ex magna infirmitate dicens. Si tu patieris istum dolorem gravissimum qui est intolerabilis omnium creature et tibi penitus inutilis nec etiam tuis exigentibus de meritis dolor tantus uide debet causari. Nam scriptum est. In penis benignior temptatio facienda. Etiam quod multum grauat nullus tibi compatitur quod contra omnem rationem fieri nemo dubitat licet autem amici ore compaciuntur tamen maxime propter bona relinquenda tuam mortem mente desiderant. anima quidem corpore exuta uix per paucos dies spaciū pro omni substantia relictā corpus tuum hospitari uolunt. Istis et similibus ad impacienciam que est contra caritatem qua tenemur deum diligere super omnia uirtutibus dyabolus hominem ducere ut sic merita sua perdat. Nota quod mortuus maximus dolor corporis accidit hijs precipue qui non morte naturali que raro est sicut docet experientia manifesta sed frequenter ex acutibus puta febre vel apostemate vel alia infirmitate graui et afflictissima atque longa dissoluntur que quidem infirmitas plerisque et precipue ad mortem indispotus et uult morientes adeo redit impacientes atque murmurantes ut plerumque ex nimio dolore in impaciencia ementes atque insensati uideantur sicut sepe uisum est in uultis. Ex quo uere constat quod tales utique in uera deficiunt caritate teste Hieronymo qui ait. Si quis cum dolore egritudinem uel mortem patitur seu accipit lignum crucis quod sufficienter deum non diligit. Et paubus ait. Caritas pacis benigna est: ~













## Bona inspiratio augustinus de paciencia

**C**ontra terciam temptationem dyaboli dat angelus bona in-  
spirationem dicens **D** homo auerte ab impacia animi tui per quam  
dyabolus suis mortiferis instigationibus nichil aliud quam anime  
tue detrimentum querit, nam per impaciam et murmur anima perditur.  
sicut per paciencia possidetur. teste Gregorio qui ait Regnum celorum  
nullus murmurans accipit. Ne igitur infirmitatis que respectu  
meritorum tuorum leuis est. non tedeat cum ipsa ante mortem sit quasi  
quoddam purgatorium cum tolleratur ut oportet videlicet pacien-  
ter et libenter cum gratitudine. quia non solum gratitudine opus  
est in hijs que sunt ad consolationem sed etiam que sunt ad afflic-  
tionem. quia ut gregorius ait. Misericorditer deus temporale adhibet  
seueritatem ne eternam inferat vlcionem. Et augustinus. Dne hic vix et serua  
ut metum michi peras. Nulle ergo tribulationes te perturbent quia  
christi nolle te relinquere audiunt iuxta illud augustinus. Mala que nos  
hic puniunt ad deum nos ire compellunt. Non igitur anime salus  
approbatur in carnis beneplacitis sed potius eterna dampnatio  
iuxta illud augustinus. Signum manifeste dampnationis est beneplacita  
assensum et a mundo diligi. Et iterum mirum est quod omnibus iterum damp-  
nandis omnes lapides non surgunt in solacium. sed magis mirum est  
quod omnibus iterum saluandis omnes lapides non surgunt in periculum.  
Repelle ergo a te impaciam tempore pestis virulentam et assume paciam  
scutum fortissimum quo omnes inimici anime facilliter superantur et respice  
christum patientissimum et omnes sanctos usque ad mortem.  
Nota cum infirmus sentit se temptari per impaciam glideret primo quod  
nocua est impacia. quia ipsum inquietando et perturbando a deo auertit  
quia dominus dicit Super que requiescet spiritus meus nisi super quietum et  
humilem corde. Secundo glideret quod pacia est sollicitate seruanda. primo  
quia est necessaria. Unde paulus pacia est vobis necessaria. Et dominus. Nunc  
oportuit pati christum et ita intrare in gloriam suam. Et gregorius.  
Nunc seruari concordia nisi per paciam valet. Secundo quia est utilis  
Unde dominus in pacia vestra possidebitis animas vestras. Et gregorius. Me-  
lioris meriti est aduersa tollere quam bonis opibus insudare.  
Idem. Sine ferro martires esse possumus si pacientiam in animo  
veraciter seruamus. Et salomon. Melior est paciens viro forti  
et qui dominatur animo suo expugnatoze urbium.











### Temptatio dyaboli de vana gloria

**Q**uarto dyabolus temptat hominem infirmum per  
simplicem complacentiam que est superbia spiritualis  
per quam deuotis et religiosis atque perfectis magis est infel-  
tius. Cum enim hominem ad deridendum a fide aut in despicio-  
nem aut ad impacienciam non potest inducere tunc aggre-  
ditur cum per sui ipsius complacentiam tales seium iaculans  
cogitationes. **Q**uod si firmus es in fide quod fortis in spe et quod con-  
stanter pacis in tua infirmitate quam multa bona operatus  
es maxime gloriari debes quia non es sicut ceteri qui infi-  
rita mala perpetrarunt et tamen solo gemitu ad celestia reg-  
na perueniunt igitur regnum celorum tibi iure negari  
non potest quia legitime certasti. Accipe ergo coronam  
tibi paratam et sedem excellentiorem pre ceteris optinebis  
per ista et similia dyabolus instantissime laborat homi-  
nem inducere ad spirituales superbiam suam ad sui ipsius  
complacentiam.

**P**ro quo notandum quod ista superbia multum est vitanda  
primo quia per eam homo efficitur similis dyabolo nam  
per solam superbiam de angelo factus est dyabolus.  
Secundo quia per ipsam homo videtur committere blas-  
phemiam per hoc quod bonum quod a deo habet a se presumit  
habere. Tercio quia tanta posset esse sua complacentia  
quod per hanc dampnaretur. Unde gregorius Reminiscen-  
do quis boni quod gessit dum se apud se erigit apud auc-  
torem humilitatis cadit. Et augustinus. Homo si se  
iustificauerit et de iusticia sua presumpserit cadit.











**B**ona inspiratio angeli contra vanā gloriā.  
Contra quā tā temptacionē dyaboli dat angelus bonā  
inspiracionē dicens. Miser cū tu superbis ascribendi  
tibi qm̄ constanciā in fide spe et paucicia quē tu soli deo as-  
scribenda est. cū nichil boni a te habcas dñō dicente. Siue me  
nichil potestis facere. Et alibi scriptū est. Non tibi arroges nō  
te iactes non te insolenter extollas nichil de te psumas nichil  
boni tibi tribuis. Et dñs ait. qm̄ se exaltat humiliabitur.  
Et iterum. Qui efficiantur sicut pūilis iste nō intrabit  
in regnū celozum. Humilia ergo te et exaltaberis dicente  
dño. Qm̄ se humiliat exaltabitur. Et ang. Sit humilias  
dcus descendit ad te. si te exaltas deus recedet a te. Aut ergo  
mentē tuā a supbia quē luciferū quondā angelū pulcherri-  
mū fecit dyabolozū deformissimū et de alta celozū proiecit  
ad infernū profunda quē etiam fuit causa omniū peccatoz.  
Vnde bernardus. Inicū omnis peccati et causa totius pē-  
cacionis est supbia. Idem. Tolle hoc vicium et sine labore omnia  
vicia rescautur.  
Vnde singulariter notandum q̄ quicūq; moriturus sentit  
se temptari per supbiā debet primo cogitare q̄ supbia tau-  
tū deo displicuit q̄ sola ipius occasione nobilissimam crea-  
turam luciferū cū omnibus sibi adherentibus de celis  
relegavit in eternū dampnando. Et sic ex tali consideracio-  
ne se humiliat atq; deprimat sua recogitando peccata  
quia ignorat an odio vel amore dignus sit. Vnde debet  
precipue capere exemplū a sancto anthonio cū dyabolus dix-  
it. O anthoni tu me vicisti cū cū volo te exaltare tu deprimis  
cū te volo deprimē tu te erigis. Scdō debet cogitare q̄ humilitas  
tm̄ deo placuit q̄ p̄cipue ipius occasione gloriosa virgo ma-  
ria deū concepit et sup choros angelozum exaltata est. ~









### Temptatio dyaboli de auaricia

**O**mnis temptatio dyaboli est auaricia magis  
seculares et caruales infestans que est nimia  
occupacio temporalium atq; exteriorum circa uxores et  
amicos caruales seu corporales diuicias atq; alia q  
magis in vita sua dilexerunt per que dyabolus  
hominem maxime uocat ut sine diceus. Quia  
tu iam reliques omnia temporalia que sollicitudinibus  
et laboribus maxime sunt congregata etiam  
uxorem proles consanguineos amicos carissimos  
et omnia alia huius mundi desiderabilia quorum  
te societati adhuc interesse tibi magnum foret sola-  
cium ipse quoq; magni boni occasio. Hec et simi-  
lia dyabolus homini in certaminis de auaricia presen-  
tat ut sic per amorem et cupiditatem terrenorum  
auertat amore dei et propria salute. Unde singu-  
lariter notandum q; maxime caneri debet ne cu-  
q; moriente amico corporales uxores liberi diuicie et  
alia temporalia ad memoriam reducantur nisi in-  
quitum illud infirmi spiritualis sanitas postulet  
aut requirat quia alias maxime periculosum esset.  
tunc sic ab hijs que spiritus et salutis sunt quibus maxime  
tunc omnibus viribus interioribus et exterioribus in-  
tendeudum est reuocaretur ad ista misera temporalia  
et carnalia tunc cum maxima sollicitudine a memo-  
ria et mente remouenda in quibus certe tunc occupa-  
ri est valde periculosum











Bona inspiratio angeli contra avariciā

**C**ontra quā temptatiōe dyaboli dat angelus bonā in-  
spiratiōe dicens. O homo averte aures tuas a mortife-  
ris suggestiōibus dyaboli quibus te irritare et inficere cona-  
tur. Et omnia temporalia totaliter post pone quorū memoria vtiq;  
nichil salutis conferre potest. sed magis impedimentū me-  
mor vborū dñi ad eos qui illis adherent. Nisi quis renūciaue-  
rit omnibus q̄ possidet nō potest meus esse discipulus. Et ite-  
rū Si quis venit ad me et nō odit patrē suū et matrē et uxō-  
rē et filios et frēs et sorores adhuc nō potest meus esse disci-  
pulus. Itē ad eos qui illis renūciaut dicit. Et omnis qui re-  
linqrit domū vel frēs vel sorores aut patrē aut matrē aut  
uxōrē aut filios aut agros ppter nōmē meū centuplū accipi-  
et et vitā eternā possidebit. *Memento etiam paupertatis xp̄i in  
cruce ptependēis. matrē dilectissimā et discipulos carissimos  
ppter tuā salutē spontissime relinquentes. Considerā etiam q̄ tot  
viri sancti tūto contemptu rerū temporalū secuti sūt eū audituri il-  
lud. Vēte bñdicti patris mei possidebunt regnū patrum vobis ab  
origine mūdi.* Impine ergo ista hie meum et omnia tūcitoria tūp  
veniū a te penitus repellendo cor tuū ad voluntariā paup̄ta-  
tē itegre comite. et sic regnū celoz ex p̄uillo tibi debetur dñe  
dño. *Itē paup̄s spiritu quī ipoz est regnū celoz. tūp totū deo q̄  
tibi diuicias ḡficeret. sempiternas pleuarie quante totū tuā fidu-  
ciā tēu fundens. Nō quā infirmus sentit se temptari p avariciā  
seu amorē terrenoz. consideret p̄mo q̄ amor terrenoz a deo se-  
parat. quia dei amorē secludit. teste gregorio qui ait. Tanto  
quis a sup̄no amore disiūgitur q̄to hic inferius ī creaturis de-  
lectatur. Secundo ḡsideret q̄ voluntaria paup̄tas hominē  
bñificat et ad celum ducit. dicente dño. Beati paup̄es  
spiritu quī ipozū est regnū celorum*









**S**agittans loqui et usum rois habere potuerit fundat o-  
ues dei pmo invocando ut ipm p ineffabilem suam et  
virtutem passionis sue suscipere dignetur. Secundo diligenter  
inocet gloriosam virginem mariam pro sua mediatrice  
Deinde omnes angelos et pcpue angelum pro sua cul-  
todia deputati. Deinde apostolos martires confesso-  
es atq; virgines speciales tamen illos quos vel quas  
prius sanctis in veneratione habuit et dilexit quorum yma-  
gines cum ymagine crucis et beate marie virginis  
ei presententur. Item dicat ter istum versum. Disrumpisti  
domine vincula mea tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis.  
Nam iste versus secundum cassiodorum tante creditur esse  
virtutis ut peccata hominum dimittantur si in fine vera confessione  
dicatur. Item dicat ter hec vba vel similia que in summa beato  
augustino ascribunt. Pax dñi nri ihu xpi et virtus passionis  
ei et lignum scē crucis et integritas beatissime virginis marie et  
benedictio omni scōz ac scōz custodia angloz necno suffragia  
omni electoz sint iter nre et omni inimicos viros visibiles et in-  
visibiles in hac hora mortis nre dñe ultimo dicat In manus  
tuas commendo spm meū. Si autem istum nō sciat orones dñe  
dicat aliquis de assistantib? alta voce corā eo orones vel historias  
deuotas in quib? pñde sancte delectabatur. Ipse vero oret corde et de-  
siderio ut scit et potest. Unde nota est quō tota salus hoīs in fine  
consistat sollicitudine curare debet unusquisq; ut sibi de socio vel ami-  
co deuoto fidei et ydoneo prouideat q; ei terrenus fideliter as-  
sistat ad fidei constantiam pacienciam deuotionem confidentiam et  
perseueranciam ipm iustando animando ac maxime orones  
deuotas pro eo fideliter dicendo. Sed heu pauci sunt qui in  
morte proximis suis fideliter assistunt interrogando mouendo  
et pro ipis orando. pñti cū ipi morientes nondum mori  
velint et anime morientem sepe miserabiliter periclitantur.

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